/16 cont./
two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the inhumation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a means of social control.

Mexico City,
Mexico

Note: The materials for the present study were collected during two seasons of field work: May-June, 1945, and June, 1946, financed by the University of Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México, and Government of the State of Chiapas.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 MV9 Tzeltal MV9

and four *chuycales*, who are in charge of sacred matters. Certain shamans, called *dzunubiles*, also participate in calpul government.

In Cancuc, Villa did not inquire into the matter, but in Oxchuc and in Bachajón the calpules have separate patron saints and are known, in the case of Bachajón, by the names of San Sebastian and San Geronimo, in the case of Oxchuc, Santo Tomas and La Trinidad. In the church at Bachajón the santos belonging to the north calpul, San Sebastian and two others, stand on the left side of the church, while San Geronimo, San Manuel, and the Virgin, representing the south calpul, stand at the right side. It appears, however, at least in the case of Oxchuc, that the festivals of these saints are maintained by the people of both calpules jointly.

The antagonism between the calpules of Cancuc has expressed itself from time to time in violence. During Villa's stay it was rumored that the people of the southern half were about to attack those of the northern half, and indeed, shots were fired. Blom and LaFarge reported "a dragging feud" in this village.[29] Apparently marriages may and do take place between the calpules; there is no indication, however, that they are exogamous.

In Oxchuc a principal annual ceremony attends the transfer from one calpul to the other of a certain sacred book. This greatly venerated object was, after some reluctance, shown to Villa. He was requested to deliver to its custodians a dozen rockets, some candles, and some incense, he was then allowed to examine it in the presence of the chiefs and the chuycales of both calpules. It is a notebook of twelve paper sheets, 40 by 20 cm. in size; it has a deerskin cover. Of the twelve pages, nine bear writing, all but one on both sides. The text appears to be a series of orders set down by the Spanish authorities in the year 1674. The book is kept in a black wooden box; before and after removing it the chuycales prayed, kneeling, while incense was burned and the rockets were discharged.

The book is called *tuhualtic* 'Our Master.' The ceremony of transfer of this sacred object takes place during the thirteen days beginning December 31. The principal members of the government of both calpules, numbering thirteen, assemble in the cabildo. The book is placed on a table with thirteen candles, thirteen rosaries, thirteen calabashes of lime mixed with tobacco, and thirteen vessels of atole. During the thirteen days the men remain segregated in the cabildo without contact with their homes or with women. Many prayers are uttered. At the conclusion of the period the box containing the book is escorted in solemn procession to the place it occupies during the rest of the year—not in the church, but in a special hut on the outskirts of the calpul of La Trinidad.

Information which Villa received from Indians of Chanal on the customs attending marriage differs in a number of respects from the account given by Blom and LaFarge,[30] or supplements that account, and therefore may be summarized here. There are no professional marriage negotiators. The boy's parents pay, ordinarily, four visits to the girl's parents to complete the agreement. On each visit they bring bread, eggs, fruit, and especially rum. The boy is expected

[29] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 387. [30] *Ibid.*, 2: 358–359.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The boy is expected to live for a year with the girl's parents; then he makes his own home, usually near that of his father. If the boy's parents are sufficiently powerful, they may pay the girl's parents twelve pesos in lieu of the year's service. Villa was informed that a woman unable to pay a debt or a fine may be taken as a secondary wife by any married man who will pay the debt or fine; that a woman who loses her virginity may be bought similarly of her parents for a little rum; and that in the case of any of these polygynous marriages, a single household is maintained. No such household was observed.

No information was obtained on birth customs,[30] or on customs in connection with death.[31]

Blom and LaFarge describe a church festival held at Tecojá ranch on June 22 and 23.[32] When Villa visited the highland villages the carnival was being celebrated. In Tenejapa on February 20 he witnessed the "Festival of the Flags" (*tahimalkin*). The (annually elected) leaders of the festival, the *alfereces*, assembled in the morning at the church. Each man conveyed a red banner with green edges, fastened to a pole, and each held in his mouth a short hook on which an orange was impaled. Nothing was learned as to the significance of these objects. The alfereces remained for a time inside the church drinking rum and singing. They then went by fours to pray in turn before each of the crosses set up in the village. The rest of the day they spent visiting the house of each one of them in turn; in each house they sang the same song sung in the church; in each the host offered rum, so that by nightfall all were drunk. These acts were to be twice repeated during the days following. They had for their stated purpose the announcement of the days of carnival. On the following Thursday the carnival became generally celebrated, and many natives went out costumed and masked.

The alfereces were accompanied by musicians, and also by three personages carrying the dried bodies of, respectively, a wild cat, a rodent called *saben*, and an iguana. Villa was informed that these animals are used in a later festal pantomime in which the alfereces enact a sowing, and in which these animals are represented as performing their characteristic mischief.

Villa observed other elements of the carnival ritual in Oxchuc. On Thursday, February 24, Indians of the calpul of Santo Tomás assembled in the church where they prayed for a time before the large altar, and then danced and drank rum in the nave. The dance was performed alternately by men and by women, and was accompanied by music from a harp, a guitar, and a rattle made of a calabash and a deer's hoof. On the following day these acts were performed by Indians of the other calpul; on this occasion the music was furnished by two drums and a flute, and the leader (*capitán*) was dressed in red. On this latter day natives of the calpul of Santo Tomás moved in procession through the streets; four individuals bore each a large pole to which were fastened ribbons of various colors; a fifth carried a red banner.

[30] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.
[31] *Ibid.*, 2:360–362.
[32] *Ibid.*, 2:364–365.
[33] The frequent association, in Middle America, of small animals, especially furred animals, with festivals, in connection with ideas of fertility and of festal buffoonery, has been noted. See Redfield, 1936, pp. 231–243.

Though the nuclear family predominates,
591 custom dictates that the house be near mem-
613 bers of the same lineage or patrilineal
[361] group, perhaps because of the patrilineal
[592] system of land inheritance. In the parajes groups of houses in which families composed of mother, father, uncles, and other members of the patriline live are common.
[351] No fences mark the limits of the property;
591 their infrequent presence merely keeps the
592 pigs and chickens under control. This group of houses, easily accessible and inhabited by people related by kinship, constitutes the most important influence in the individual's formation, since it is here that he acquires his first experiences and cultural values, as well as the emotional links that will have the greatest weight in his life. This system of patrilocal residence is observed all through the region, even in compact villages like Aguacatenango, where lack of space favors dispersion. B. Metzger (1959) tells us: "Looking at the nuclear families to trace patrilocality there, we find that in 74 cases where we have adequate data, 39 are in the same block and 12 in adjacent blocks with husband's parents or siblings; 11 in the same block and 8 in adjacent blocks with wife's parents or siblings; 4 are classed to neither spouse's family."

351 In villages or cabeceras of a compact type
591 it is customary to mark family plots by a
592 fence of stones or sticks, with entrance toward the street (Chanal, Sivaca, Amatenango, Aguacatenango.) Occasionally, when the nuclear family is divided because of the marriage of one of the sons, then the "solar" or the "sitio" (as it is called in the region) is subdivided by another fence that separates the portion now belonging to the new family. A door allows easy communication between both families. Sometimes, even three nuclear families live in a large sitio, divided by fences.

• 583 *Types of Marriage*

Types of marriage vary from that following the old traditional to one requiring the

[P. 217-A]

583 procedures (*trámites*) of church and civil
584 registry. The traditional marriage is an arrangement between two families. The young man's parents, with his agreement, select the bride and start the visits leading to the [574] petition. The visits to the girl's house must [203] be made at dawn, accompanied by two or three bottles of aguardiente. These visits continue for several months, because the girl's parents want to consult the old men or the most important members of the patrilineal clan.

585 The wedding itself is simple, a family ritual concerning the boy's parents, the girl's parents, and old men of the clan she belongs to. Now the boy appears for the first time, bringing articles that will "warm up" the fiesta (Villa Rojas, 1949):

1 garrafón (about 18 liters) of aguardiente
80 cooked eggs
80 tortillas
80 tamales of the *chenkul-uaj type* (corn and bean dough)
10 kilos of pozole with chile
10 kilos of pozole without chile
1 kilo of ground chile
1 almud (4 kilos) of beans

According to my informants from Oxchuc, these items represent what the girl's parents have spent for her during childhood. [574] This marriage feast is called *beybal-ja* ('the first delivery of aguardiente').

585 These items are presented with the great-
614 est formality to the girl's clan in oral forms that symbolize the wish for everlasting friendship between both families. The oldest member of the girl's clan responds by expressing on behalf of all members their satisfaction in receiving those articles and their good wishes for a successful union. Immediately, the couple kneels on a petate and listens to the oldest member of the clan, who formally announces they are married and recites the duties and obligations of each.

584 Until recently in Cancuc the custom ob-
184 tained of making these marriage arrange-
[P 217-B]

584 [184] ments through a special person (*chunel*) for each of the four clans, and differed from Oxchuc, where the case is presented to the nearest old man of the clan. In Cancuc, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 3):

> The boy's parents dealt with the *Chunel* of the girl's clan when petitioning her. He received the gifts and gave approval; and then accompanied by the boy and his parents he went into the house of the girl's parents. There, he presented the boy's petition. Nobody could oppose the Chunel's decisions. The girl would die if she didn't obey the decisions of the elder of the clan.

583 Once a marriage feast is finished, the boy stays in his parents-in-law's house to fulfill the bride price (*stojyinam*). This service, which consists in helping the father-in-law in the milpa and in other duties, usually lasts a year, or less if arrangements are made in advance. Frequently during this period the man spends alternate periods of three weeks with his parents-in-law and with his own parents. When he has the means to do it, he builds his own house and starts the new cycle of a nuclear family.

581 585 574 [273] [614] After the first year of marriage, if the couple get along together, the man must make a present of two garrafones of aguardiente and the same petitionary items of food, though in larger amounts. This time, more of the girl's clan are present, and so increase the importance of the event. The purpose is to celebrate the success of the couple and the union that will exist between the two families. This big *tertulia*, along with the corresponding meal, is called [888] *mukel-ja* ('abundance of drink'). Old men of [273] the clan who cannot attend receive at their homes the portion of aguardiente they 586 should have drunk. On the other hand, if the couple could not get along during the first year and the union is annulled because of the woman's fault, her parents must give back all they have received during the first ritual.

581 574 Finally, to bring all these duties to an

[P. 218-A]

581 574 end, the husband gives a big meal sometime (even 30 years later) which must be attended by the important members of the wife's clan. Many illnesses in a family are attributed to the fact that the man did not fulfill this third requirement of a food gift (*oshe-vuelto-uaj-matz*, 'third delivery of food'). [753]

584 Another custom, known as *yajk makte achish* ('cover or secure the girl'), is practiced when the chosen girl is too young (10–12 years) to get married. To secure her in the future, the boy's parents make arrangements with those of the girl, offering them liquor that other members of the girl's clan also share. When she grows older, they proceed with the wedding arrangements and the customary formal ceremonies.

583 Another form of marriage, existing among very traditional groups, begins with the capture of the girl. This happens when she has no father or important man representing the house. The boy and his parents must obtain cooperation from one of the male members of the girl's clan. With this accomplice the men go to the girl's house at midnight, take her, and bring her to the boy's parents either by persuading her mother with liquor or by force. Days later, they try to calm the anger of the important people of her clan, bringing further bottles of liquor. Usually the union becomes formally recognized after this, and the couple settle in their own home with the neighbors' approval. It is thus a sort of institutionalized capture.

581 179 585 Among the less conservative communities, these forms of marriage are being replaced by Ladino forms, which regard marriage not as a contract between two lineages or families but as an agreement between two individuals. Furthermore, the Catholic ceremony is considered very important. Premarital sexual relations and elopement are frequent. Metzger states that, "in Aguacatenango, to a considerable extent, the marriage choice is made by the boy and the girl after sexual experimentation and a period of 'going steady.' The boy tells his family about it and they proceed to make the arrangements

583 836 584 [836]

[P. 218-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

"giving the head" to certain elder women, but the reason could not be ascertained.

Marriage is an economic and social affair, apparently free of religious significance. Don Arturo Tovilla of Cacate-el, gave us a description of the manner of seeking a wife, which is here paraphrased. It will be seen that the importance, ceremonially, centers on the contract with the parents, while the actual joining in marriage is not stressed.

The boy's father goes with the boy to the girl's house, both dressed in their best clothes, and carrying a gift of three bottles (pints) of aguardiente "and some animal." His father tells the girl's father that his son wishes to marry the daughter; to which the answer is to call the girl and ask her if she likes him. She says nothing, but keeps on scratching the wall with her finger and the floor with her toe, thereby indicating that she likes the boy, while showing the proper maidenly modesty. The latter gives her a coloured handkerchief, pearl beads, etc., with which the contract is sealed.

The boy is obligated to bring to her house what the father may ask, such as corn, beans, aguardiente, as well as to help in the work for a year. He makes a social visit each Sunday, which the girl must receive. At the end of the time appointed by the parents, he takes her to his house.

If the girl does not signify her consent in the manner described, the match does not take place.

When the parents of one or both parties do not countenance the match, it may happen that the children, taking the law into their own hands, run away. The procedure in this case has become formalized so that, while unpleasant enough to act as a deterrent, it recognizes this as a regular manner of marrying. This description also is paraphrased from Señor Tovilla. [115]

When the parents forbid, but both children desire the match, after the boy has gone to the girl's house and been refused, his obligation of respect is ended. He builds a house in a retired place in the jungle. He and the girl meet to make their plans where she goes to get water, for which purpose she may often choose a spring a kilometer or more from her house. At an appointed time, they run away.

When he has carried her off and hidden her, his parents must go and apologize to hers. The girl's father tells the boy's not to leave before being punished. He, however, finds and brings in the couple, who kneel before the girl's parents. The boy's shirt is taken off, and

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

A territorial distinction not recognized by the federal government is the division of the town center into two sections, or sides, by the street running in front of the church. The two sides of the division are called Ahk'olnantik, upper side, and Alannantik, lower side. The upper side is in the direction of higher lands in the southwest called Ahk'olk'inal, and the lower side is in the direction of lower lands to the northeast, called Alank'inal. The emphasis on relative altitude implicit in place nomenclature is a central fact in the Indians' ecological adjustment. Marriage is endogamous within each division by explicit rule, and in fact 87 percent of all marriages conform to the rule, according to a census I took in 1958. A man who marries a girl on the opposite side is forced to make a payment of eighteen liters of liquor to the bachelors of the opposite division. In addition to regulating competition for marriage partners, the dual division is the basis for allocating civil and religious offices.

Whether the dual division was an indigenous trait or not is a moot point. The pattern for dual organizations existed in both Spanish and indigenous societies (Foster 1951:5). There is some speculation that the dual divisions are a product of the Spanish colonial policy of the congregación, when populations of different origins were drawn together. However, local historical accounts indicate that several ethnic groups were introduced at various periods. After the initial congregación, foreign Indians were incorporated in the sixteenth century, in the latter part of the nineteenth century (Secretaría de Gobierno Constitucional, October 26, 1893), and as late as the 1930s in response to the land reform program. As each ethnic group entered the region, it was either incorporated into one of the existing divisions or was isolated. The persistence of polarization must be explained on other grounds. The widespread distribution in the Chiapas highlands of dual divisions defined by territory and descent in communities of both dispersed and nucleated settlement patterns suggests the indigenous origins of the division. A dual division of upper and lower sections based on endogamy and equal representation is found in San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:64), Chanal (Eva Hunt, NSF II report), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1946:424), and Cancuk (Siverts 1964). The Nahuatl term *calpul* is applied in some cases to these divisions. The towns where calpulles are found are *paraje*, or vacant center, types (Tax 1937) which

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

of the farm by renting additional land, as European peasants typically did,[5] since there is very little land available for rent and the returns are not immediate. Farmers will try to avoid this by acquiring land grants to increase subsistence agriculture.

Expenditures and earnings were studied in six families over varying periods of time from ten days to one year. The data are summarized below.

Family No. 1, consisting of a husband, his wife, and their married daughter separated from her husband and child, is able to meet all of their need for corn and brown sugar and most of their need for beans by the crops they raise on one-half hectare of ejido land in hot country, one-half hectare of ejido land in the township, and three-quarters hectare of privately owned, irrigated land in the township. On their irrigated land, they grow one-half hectare of wheat and one-quarter hectare of corn. In hot country they grow corn, beans, and sugar cane on the margins of the field. The cane is ground in a cooperatively owned mill, and their crop in 1965 produced 144 *tapas*, or measures of one kilogram worth 5 pesos. In addition to 200 pesos earned for the wheat crop, 100 pesos for the bean crop, 298 pesos for corn, this farmer earned 808 pesos for outside work. His high wage income is due to his working for an American at twice the usual daily pay. The farmer buys coffee by the twenty-five-pound bag costing 62 pesos in hot country, a saving of about one-half the retail price of coffee in the town, where it is sold at 5 or 7 pesos at pound. In twelve months of recorded expenditures, the family spent 609.50 pesos or 83 percent of their budget on food, 40 pesos or 5 percent of their budget on clothing and 82 pesos or 11 percent of their budget on medicine.

The high expenditures in the case of family No. 2, consisting of a man, his wife, and two mature sons, was due to the fact that one of the boys was carrying on a betrothal suit. The bride-price had been fixed at 500 pesos, toward which the family was contributing whatever excess of income over expenditures it had. The son who was seeking a wife worked fifty-six days in the sawmill at a wage of 15 pesos per day during the six-month period recorded, earning 255 pesos. In addition, he and his brother earned 160 pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village.

5. Chayanov (1966:7) demonstrated that Russian peasant families expanded the size of their farms when the subjective needs of the family increased, not as a response to market prices for crops or rents.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

323
178 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to
442 sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio
443 of Lok'ibal in the município of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44
471 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportuni-
293 ties. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of
443 the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external
434 markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-de-
[675] veloped home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liq-
[681] uor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main
[583] gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened
[275] by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during
[216] fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the
[548] forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter
[435] for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not
241 take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per
442 unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe
443 that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the
[435] grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and
[489] San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eighteen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier families tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorrigible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particular, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer expected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and animals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their possessions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

593 583 584 The boy obtains a wife with his father's help. He has usually selected the girl himself, but his father makes the arrangements with the girl's parents and pays the bride-price. The bride-price, called the bocado (mouthful), is paid to the household of the future bride and has a fixed value, 300 pesos, given in the form of consumable goods: chocolate, sugar, bread, coffee, cigarettes and trago (the local brew).[1]

585 183 593 606 At the marriage ceremony, the new wife and husband are instructed in the rights and duties of their new role. The young wife is told, in a formal speech given by an elder man of the

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[1]The regular marriage negotiations include several visits to the girl's parents called the pedidas (requests), which can be spread over a period of six months to a year. The last pedida is considered the engagement ceremony, and after that comes the entrega de la muchacha (the giving away of the bride) which is the ceremony referred to here as the marriage ceremony. This ceremony follows the native custom. There are two other marriage ceremonies which can be performed, and are optative. One is the civil marriage at the Ayuntamiento, selected by very few because it is considered an unnecessary expense, although it gives some prestige. The other is a Church wedding, performed by the Catholic priest. This wedding ceremony does not occur until the couple have been married several years and have children. Church weddings are considered to be strong bonds, which are very difficult to break up. In many cases, if a couple is fighting a lot and the wife threatens to leave the homestead, the husband will try to marry her in the Church to force her to stay in the household. Because of its high prestige value, if a boy is rejected by the family of his sweetheart at the pedida, the suitor's family will offer as an extra attraction a Church wedding immediately after the entrega de la muchacha. 585

In some cases, when the suitor is rejected by the parents of the girl, or if he cannot afford the bride-price but the girl is willing to live with him, the marriage ceremony is not performed. In these cases, the institution of the robo (the stealing of the girl) is common practice. The suitor arranges with his girl-friend to run away together at night, and go to his home. Therefore, robos or huidas occur with the consent of the groom's parents, who have to accept the girl into the home. The robo is common in inter-barrio marriages, where the pedidas ritual is socially impossible to carry on, because the limitations put upon barrio interaction and the rules of barrio endogamy. 621

585 183 593 606 family, that she starts a new life. She now has a new family and a new home where she should learn new ways of doing things from her mother-in-law, and forget the old ones she learned from her mother. Among her duties as a good wife and daughter-in-law she should keep her husband well fed and clean, obey her mother-in-law for whom she should work hard, and respect the head of the household (her father-in-law). She should not visit her family too often, and she should gather firewood with her mother-in-law instead of with her mother.[1] The ceremony indicates two things: [581] (1) the transfer of the wife's reproductive and labor power from her natal home to her husband's; (2) the boundaries of her new role. In a sense, the people of Aguacatenango define the role of a wife in terms of her performance as a worker and as a daughter-in-law, and in terms of her relations with all the members of the household rather than only in terms of her relation to her husband.

593 885 [851] On the other hand, a new husband's performance is under trial. He has to demonstrate that he can get along with his wife, and become a father, before his role as a dependent child is replaced by his role as a married man. At the time of acquiring a wife, a man is regarded by the community as a "child," being both economically and jurally dependent upon his father, who has complete authority over his actions, and is directly responsible for his son's misdeeds.[2]

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[583] [1]One of my informants tells me that although she was robada by her husband (she lived in the other barrio) the night she arrived at her husband's household, her father-in-law gave her a shortened version of the wedding speech. I do not know if this is a common practice.

[592] [672] [2]If a young man commits a crime while living under his father's roof, the father is responsible for his defense and for paying the fines to the Ayuntamiento.

593 156 62 [583] Aguacatecos expect a man to take the responsibility of setting up his son in "business" as a community member. He pays for his son's bride, teaches him the skills for tilling the soil in order to earn a living, and provides him, at a prudential time, with the means of production: a parcel of land, and perhaps a few animals, and a house where he can live with his wife and children.

593 888 At the same time, a son is expected to take care of his parents when they are old and the father retires from agricultural work because he is too old, sick or weak to do, by himself, all the work necessary for the maintenance of his household as an economically independent unit. The people say that a son should provide for his aged parents because: "Did we not give them everything?"

The primary responsibility for the care of aged parents is usually given to one son in particular, preferably the last one (po'h). The villagers explain that this is his duty, because "if [428] he stays with us when all our other sons marry, get their land and leave, this house will be for him, he will inherit this place." Thus, the villager visualizes his dependency on the last son as an economic exchange between kinsmen: he receives from his son food and shelter, he gives him a house lot and house. The duties of a son toward his parents are expressed both in the kinship idiom

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[592] [591] [606] the separate cooking fire, is the symbol of the unity of one single domestic group. When two couples live within the sitio without dividing it, people are very careful to explain if they still cook together or not, and if they cultivate the land separately or not.

591 2. When a couple have no male children, they try to keep a married daughter living with them, as a replacement for the unachieved son. They will also attempt to do this in a case where all the male children have refused to stay with the parents after the initial years of married life.

593 888 [626] Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping a married son living with them when they are old have very little prestige in the community because it usually means that there is some conflict between them, and they are easy targets for village gossip. It also means that they have no "insurance for the aged," that is, no child to support them when they grow too old to work.

591 583 Therefore, a couple with a single daughter still at home will be eager to keep her after marriage, to replace the sons who have gone away. To obtain this, the parents will request, during the pedidas (the visits to arrange a marriage, called "asking visits"), that the groom should "come to the house as a yerno (son-in-law) of theirs, and stay there indefinitely. Only if the groom agrees to this condition do they give him the daughter as a spouse.

591 [606] These arrangements are very unstable. A man usually agrees to stay with his wife's parents, but after the marriage has been consummated, he will insist on moving away, being anxious to occupy his place as a dutiful son, living and working with his father whose heir he may be. Women look forward to this kind of arrangement, the same way that they look forward to marrying a man whose mother is dead, because these are ways of avoiding the heavy burden of "becoming nueras" (daughter-in-law) or "suffering

591 592 423 426 has not inherited land. The other family living in a borrowed home is a young couple that married without their parents' approval. They eloped and established themselves on the edge of town, in an empty old hut, whose owner does not demand payment. "Borrowings" are temporary arrangements, and as a form of residence, [583] very unstable. Young couples who decide to elope leave town to reside at Colonia del Puerto. We know of two cases which followed this custom. But if they do not leave town, they try to move to a house on the edge of town. From these two cases, we can assume that borrowing is due to economic reasons (poverty of a family who cannot afford to buy a house), or as a consequence of deviant behavior (in the case we have, the husband was an orphan and parental sponsorship by the wife's parents was denied because they disapproved of the marriage).

361 156 167 The edge of town is a refuge area for people who in one way or another "do not belong" to the community. Social deviants, like the young couple mentioned above, tend to move to the town boundaries. Recent migrants from other villages also live on the edges. Two complete blocks on the southern boundary of town are inhabited by a large extended patrilocal family which originated from a Chamula Indian who was a peon on a nearby finca until the agrarian revolution. After he became free, he migrated to the village and married a local Indian woman.

125 The above discussion covers all the cases for which we had sample data. We have, however, information on other cases which could not be counted in the statistics because they were part of life histories or concerned individuals who do not live in

125 the village any more. These cases seem to illustrate common alternatives, and we must mention them briefly.

591 593 183 We know of three cases in which a newly married couple moved to the husband's brother's compound. In those cases, the brother was an elder who jurally replaced the father, and it seems that he took the responsibility of paying the bride-price for his

591 603 183 brother's wife. We also had four cases of men who, at the time of their marriage, were living with the mother's mother. It seems that this was the result of the parents being dead, and the fact that no other relative was left in the original compound.

Amatenango Residence

Residence of Married Couples

591 183 In Amatenango, unlike Aguacatenango, there is no "indication of a single general form of residence pattern" which the villagers would verbalize as normative. "At any stage in the developmental cycle alternative choices in residence with the man's or the woman's relatives depends not on the lineal tie, but on economic factors" (Nash, 1960:41).

591 592 583 606 Married couples live with the parents of one of the spouses for a year or two after they marry. During these years, the young husband is expected to give some labor to the wife's father by working with him in his fields, helping him to carry wood to make the hearth in which women burn pottery, and by performing other small services. The couple live only temporarily with the parents. The stability of the compound households depends on several factors. If there are other marriageable children, offspring of

361 591 434 the women do so, and while 63 per cent of the men in the village live in close patrilocal proximity, only 40 per cent of the men in Santa Cruz live near their parents (see Table 16).

Residence of Widows

184 589 591 Another striking contrast between Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women, in the latter, as household heads, and their residence after they become widows.

562 589 434 [423 768] First, because in many cases a woman owns the house in which she lives with her husband and children, she is not obliged to move out of the site if her husband dies, as she is in Aguacatenango. Second, she does not need an adult man in the household to be able to support herself and the children because she is able to meet the economic demands of the domestic groups from her own labor in pottery production. The result of women's economic independence is that many of them are the heads of their own households. Out of 280 households, 39 have female heads, and 25 do not contain any adult men (the others contain younger sons-in-law). This also means that all corn is bought; there is no income derived from agriculture, but only from pottery sales. In Aguacatenango, where all income derives directly or indirectly from agriculture, this situation is inconceivable: there are no households without men, nor households in which a female is the absolute head of the unit.

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The Marriage Transactions and the Household

583 584 In Aguacatenango, a man selects his future spouse and his father arranges the marriage for him. At the ceremonial visits

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

583 584 which are exchanged between future parents-in-law, the bride-price or bocado is paid. The bocado is fixed: 300 pesos in goods.

582 184 434 Parents try to marry off their daughters within their own economic level to provide a similar standard of living for them. They will strongly refuse to give them to a poorer household if they are not very poor themselves. If the household is very poor, the first solution is to marry off the daughters, since they are consumers who do not contribute to the household income. If a poor household cannot find a husband for a daughter within the village, they will even give her to an outsider, for example, to a man from La Palizada. This is viewed as an unfortunate, but inevitable, choice. La Palizada is a settlement in the high, cold [595] country. It is very poor. A woman marrying into it is viewed with pity because La Palizada men are polygamous and their wives work in the cornfields with them. Of two cases of marriages with La Palizada which we know about (one in the past and another that is contemporary), the only reason given for the marriage was the poverty of the households.

582 If a young man in town insists on marrying the daughter of a couple richer than his own household, they will refuse because 583 "the girl is not used to the hardships." If the girl decides on her own that she likes the man, the usual procedure is elopement at night to the boy's house. In this case, a poor man can get a richer bride without the bride-price, but he does not get any of the economic advantages shared by her family. The girl is cut-off from any social interaction with her family of orientation. Later, if the marriage proves stable, the young deviant couple can attempt

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

583 to reconcile themselves with the wife's parents by paying the agradecimiento (thankfulness payment), half of the established bride-pride. In those cases, it is considered that the full bride-price is not necessary "because the couple was already [591] living together." It follows that elopement cases are always patri-virilocal in residence.

592 562 582 434 In Amatenango, where women are important laborers, the household considers them an economic asset. They will not marry them off early except in case of extreme need, and they will use their marriage to form economic alliances with households at other levels of wealth. If they are not interested in keeping her because there is another married child in the household but they do not have immediate economic need, they will wait and try to marry her into a richer household. If they are interested in keeping her in the unit as a producer, they will marry her to a poorer man and ask him to come and reside uxorilocally. When the residence choice at the time of the marriage is patri-virilocal, the bride-price is much higher than in Aguacatenango: 1,000 pesos rather than 300. Unfortunately, we do not know what the amount of the bride-price is, if it is anything at all, when residence after marriage is matri-uxorilocal.

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582 191 The contrast between the marriage transactions in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is not unique to these two villages, but seems to be a recurrent structural pattern when there are differences in the labor market for women. Tax (1953) reports a similar contrast for Guatemala. In Panajachel, where women's labor has a high value, "marriages tend to cross wealth lines, with a man of a

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VII

CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Historical Perspective

174 611 591 601 583 423 428 It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

174 613 614 621 626 Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized, and they had important social functions. The heads of linear segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was [582] an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

127 The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of two types. On the one hand, there is some historical documentation in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,

593 578 538 The folk tales reflect, undoubtedly, the pattern of ultimogeniture and, perhaps, a switch from primogeniture to ultimogeniture. The meaning of the folk tales becomes obvious because of other elements which enter in the conflict.

428 592 593 If a younger son is married at the time of his father's death, he inherits his house, and replaces his father as head of the domestic group, following the norm of agnatic ultimogeniture. But if a younger son is single at the time of his father's death, his elder brother replaces the father and inherits from him. In this last case, it is his duty to provide for his younger brother's support, and at the time that he marries, split the paternal inheritance with him, giving the younger son his share of land, cattle or whatever was left for them.

183 428 592 593 [591] [583] The "rules of the game"[1] are, in the second case, not as explicit as in the normative pattern. Many alternative forms of behavior occur. In some cases, the elder son will move out of the paternal home when his younger brother marries and brings his wife to the homestead. In other cases, he will expect to be compensated for his brother's bride-price and for having supported him and his mother. He would probably reclaim part of the property, or force his younger brother to sell the house and share the money obtained with him.

In still other cases, he will even refuse to give the younger son his share, or move out of the compound.

593 It is obvious that not all men are alike in temperament

[1]That is, the adjustment between authority rights and succession rights.